

IS IT EXPEDIENT

TO INTRODUCE

SLAVERY INTO KANSAS?

A TRACT FOR THE TIMES.

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Respectfully Inscribed to the People of Kansas.

THE inhabitants of Kansas will, at no distant day, be called on to decide one of the most momentous questions which can engage the minds of men. Their own happiness and prosperity, their material wealth, and mental and moral improvement, with that of their posterity for generations to come, will be essentially promoted or retarded, by the decision they may make on the pending question of introducing or excluding Slavery. It would be an insult to their understandings as intelligent freemen, to admonish them of the duty they owe to themselves and their posterity, of discarding all party rancor and sectional feeling, and of asking themselves, calmly and dispassionately, first—What is right? And, secondly—What is expedient?

Upon the question of the equity and morality of slavery, I take it for granted, that every man has his mind made up, and therefore, deem it unnecessary to discuss it. Northern men are, for the most part, opposed to the institution, while southern men are generally its friends, from the prejudice of education and sectional patriotism. The former need no arguments to assure them of the justice of their principles; while

the latter would not listen to a homily upon the evils of slavery and slavery extension, in the very hour of action and prospective victory. For these reasons, I will confine my remarks to the simple question of the utility of introducing slavery into Kansas.

Will the introduction of slavery promote the rapid settlement of Kansas? Will it enhance the value of land? Will it build up or retard the growth of cities and towns? How will it affect agriculture, commerce, manufactures, internal improvements, the mechanic arts? Will it promote general education, by building up common schools? Will literature and science flourish? Will religion be promoted?

These are the real practical questions which are presented for the consideration of the people of Kansas. They are home questions. They have nothing to do with the election of Seward or Douglas, or with the "balance of power" between the North and the South. They come home to the "business and bosoms" of the people, and should alone control their decision.

For myself, though a southern man, I am opposed to slavery. I have seen its effects in retarding the prosperity of my native State, and of the whole south; and, am, therefore, opposed to its introduction into Kansas. I propose briefly to state the facts and reasons which have brought me to this conclusion.

In the first place, it by no means follows that slavery should be introduced into Kansas because it may be profitable to the slaveholders, because these constitute a very small class in every community where the institution prevails. It is not just or politic to sacrifice the general prosperity of a whole community, in order to benefit a few wealthy individuals. The rights and welfare of every citizen should be esteemed equally

sacred with those of the few who are favored by fortune. Virginia has the largest slave population of any State in the Union, and yet, with 894,800 white citizens, she had only 55,063 slaveholders in 1850, and of these, more than one-half owned less than five slaves. As an industrial institution, therefore, it can be of no sort of advantage (if it have any advantages,) to the great body of the people. The enumeration of slaveholders includes all who are interested in one or more slaves, and embraces hundreds and thousands of widows and children who are joint heirs in a single negro. If this fact is taken into the consideration, it cannot be made to appear that even in Virginia, more than one citizen in five, of all ages and sexes, has the remotest connection with slavery. If none but the heads of families were enumerated among the 55,000 slaveholders of Virginia, we might on the average, allow four to the family, making in all, 220,000 people beneficially interested in slavery, while the remaining 674,000 would have no sort of interest in it; on the contrary, the value of their land, labor, and occupations is seriously injured by it. But for the reason stated, that all minor children and heirs are enumerated in the census return, it is too much to allow an average of four to the family; and hence, the case is really stronger than I have above stated it. Three to one is a liberal estimate, which will give 165,000 out of 894,000 of the citizens of Virginia, who reap any benefit from the institution of slavery.

But let us come nearer home. Missouri is contiguous to Kansas, and in the same latitude; but being less elevated, it has a milder climate, and is, therefore, according to all experience, better adapted to slavery. It cannot be expected that slavery will flourish better, or even so well, in Kansas, as it has done in Missouri.

Now, what are the facts of Slavery in this state? According to the census of 1850, Missouri had 682,044 white inhabitants, of whom 19,185 were slaveholders. About two-thirds, or 12,640, owned less than five slaves, and allowing for the usual proportion of heirs, they would average less than one slave each. But counting three persons in the family to each of the 19,185 slaveholders enumerated, and we have 57,555 citizens of Missouri, old and young, male and female, interested in slavery. The remaining 534,449 are made to suffer all the inconveniences of slavery, for the benefit of the favored few.

Slavery has never flourished in Missouri as it has done further south. With an aggregate population of 682,044, there were in 1850 only 87,422 slaves, constituting about one-eighth of the population. It is evident, therefore, that it is an exotic in Missouri. It is one of those noxious plants which will spring up in every soil, but it belongs to the south properly, and lingers and decays in northern latitudes. Kansas, being higher and colder, can never foster slavery to the extent that Missouri does, and hence a still smaller proportion of her citizens will ever be able to avail themselves of its supposed advantages.

I now proceed to show that slavery prevents the rapid settlement of a country, impairs the value of land, retards improvement, and in various ways affects, injuriously, the general interests of society. The census and other collections of statistical information, are so full of materials illustrative of these positions, that the only difficulty is in making a selection from the general mass. We propose, however, to compare New York and Pennsylvania with Virginia and North Carolina, Ohio with Kentucky, and Illinois with Missouri. It is

most convenient to present the statistics in the form of a table, but there is a general aversion to tables of figures marshalled in serried ranks, and I will therefore endeavor to make it as brief as possible :

AREA—POPULATION—VALUE OF LAND.

States.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.		Val. of land per acre, in 1850.
		1790.	1850.	
New York. ...	47,000	340,120	3,097,394	\$ 29.00
Virginia	61,352	748,308	1,421,661	8.27
Pennsylvania..	46,000	434,373	2,311,786	27.33
North Carolina.	50,704	393,751	869,039	3.23
IN 1800.				
Ohio	39,064	45,365	1,980,329	19.93
Kentucky.....	37,680	220,955	982,405	6.91
IN 1810.				
Illinois.....	55,405	12,282	851,470	7.99
Missouri.....	67,380	20,845	682,044	6.50

The above tables abundantly demonstrate the effects of slavery upon the increase of population, and the value of land ; and if we had no other evidence of its injurious influence upon the public welfare, this would be amply sufficient. Missouri has the smallest proportion of slaves, of any of the Southern States, and, as a consequence, she is less injured by the system. But the above statement of the price of land presents only a partial view of the subject. According to the same authority, the census, Illinois contained 5,039,545 acres of improved land, in farms—while Missouri has only 2,938,425 improved. The unimproved lands of Illinois amount to 6,997,867; those of Missouri to 6,794,245. These unimproved lands are included in the estimated

“Cash value of Farms,” in the Census, and greatly help out the case of Missouri. The total value of farms of Illinois is stated at \$96,133,290; those of Missouri at \$63,225,543. Now, it is fair to presume that the “improved lands” are two or three times as valuable as the unimproved; and hence Illinois, with her free population, has “improved” nearly twice as much land as Missouri, and given each acre of it, perhaps, double the value of the lands in the latter State!

This fact of itself, refutes the ridiculous assumption of Mr. Stringfellow, that the institution of slavery is necessary to settle and cultivate a prairie country; for it is well known that Illinois abounds in prairies to a far greater extent than Missouri.

But I pursue the comparison between the above-named States, in other particulars.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

STATES.	MILES OF CANALS.	RAILROADS.			COST.
		No.	Miles in Operat'n	Miles in Con-struction	
New York...	989	32	2,345	564	\$ 94,523,785
Virginia....	189	21	673	1,180	12,720,421
Pennsylvania	936	64	1,464	987	58,494,675
N. Carolina..	13	3	249	223	4,106,000
Ohio.....	921	46	2,367	1,578	44,927,058
Kentucky....	486*	9	233	452	4,909,990
Illinois	100	25	1,262	1,945	25,420,000
Missouri.....		6	50	963	1,000,000

* Evidently an error in the census report—as the “cost” shows

These statistics of Railroads were collected last year, and probably show the state of things on the first of January, 1854. Since that period the free States have far outstripped those tolerating slavery, in the construction or completion of Railroads. I have the "American Railway Times" before me, of February 1, which states that there are now in operation in New York 2,724 miles of Railroad; and that "the length of double-track in addition to the above" is 803 miles. This is equivalent to 3,527 miles of single-track road !

Illinois, it is well-known, has opened several hundred miles within the last twelve months, and she has now nearly or quite two thousand miles in operation. But the contrast, as it stands in the table, is sufficiently strong against slavery, and stamps it as the foe of internal improvement. It is true that the Southern people are making laudable efforts to build Railroads, and considering that they are cramped in their energies by the sluggish monopoly of slavery, they are making great progress.

Do the people of Kansas desire Railroads ? Then they must eschew the peculiar institution. Look at Illinois and Missouri ! Fifty miles against twelve hundred and sixty-two ! Yet Missouri is older than Illinois, and possesses a large and prosperous city, (prosperous at the expense of Illinois, hitherto,) while until recently the latter had no considerable town. It is true that free labor, and the enterprise which always accompanies it, is rapidly building up a city in Illinois, which in five years will eclipse St. Louis, but up to 1850, when the census was taken, every circumstance, if slavery be left out of view, favored the building of Railroads in Missouri rather than in Illinois. But in addition to the twenty-fold proportion of Railroads in Illinois, she has

one hundred miles of canal, forming a most important connection between the great Lakes and the Mississippi River. Missouri, blessed as it is with slavery, has not one foot of canal to offset this valuable improvement, which was built at an expense of millions of dollars.

I might make similar remarks in reference to the canals of New York and Virginia, but every reader can see the figures for himself. I will merely call attention to the fact that the latter State is nearly one-third larger than the former—with a soil as fertile—with minerals incalculably more valuable and abundant—with far more “water power” for manufacturing, and with equal, nay, superior, natural facilities for commerce; and yet, with all these advantages, she lags in population, in internal improvements, and in everything. Can “the wayfarer man, though a fool,” fail to read the causes of these wide contrasts? Is it not too plain to be doubted for one moment that Virginia owes her poverty, and languor and ignorance, to the fact that she permits fifty-five thousand of her wealthiest citizens to invest their capital in 470,000 African negroes? Is it not as clear as the sun at noon-day, that if this capital were invested in Manufactures, in Commerce, in Railroads and Canals, that the Old Dominion would stand shoulder to shoulder with New York in Wealth, and Arts, and Power? But, alas! the millstone is about her neck, and she must shake it off as she can. Even Mr. Wise, in a late able but characteristic letter to the Rev. Mr. Adams, of Boston, deplors the existence of slavery, while defending its morality, and he seems inconsolable, that what he regards as the madness of fanaticism prevented its introduction into California, since he flatters himself that the gold mines would have drawn off the entire slave population of Virginia! He even favors the idea of

emancipation, and thinks that California mining might have concentrated the African race on the shores of the Pacific, and have prepared the way for its ultimate enfranchisement.

If Mr. Wise, with all his knowledge of the subject, and all his intense devotion to Southern interests, is anxious to get rid of slavery in Virginia, is it not singular that any Southern man should wish to carry it to Kansas? I now present other points of comparison between free and slave States, which serve to illustrate the ill effects of slavery. New York and Virginia, as I have remarked above, have nearly equal advantages for Commerce, and in this particular, they have no other rivals in the Union, unless it be Louisiana. On the one hand, New York has a single magnificent harbor, with a more healthy location for a city than Virginia possesses; while the latter has one harbor, only surpassed by that of New York, with others of great value; and while New York has but one river communicating with the interior, Norfolk has a score of such tributaries, which, with proper enterprise, might be made to pour into her lap the wealth of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Then her natural impediments to the trade of the Great West are no greater than those of New York. If, therefore, Norfolk is to-day a village, while New York is the greatest city on the Western Continent, and the second, if not the first commercial city in the world, the people of Virginia may thank the peculiar institution for the difference! She has no legitimate commerce, because she permits a commerce in slaves! She has no manufactures, because her capital is invested in slave-breeding!

COMMERCE—JULY 1ST, 1853, TO JUNE 30TH, 1854.

STATES.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
New York.....	\$ 195,427,933	\$ 122,534,646
Virginia.....	1,276,216	4,754,148
Pennsylvania.....	21,359,306	10,104,416
North Carolina.....	312,633	391,897

It may be objected that I have left out of view the Southern commercial cities of Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans. I therefore subjoin them, with the remark that as to Baltimore, though in a slave State, it is on the Northern frontier of the slave region, and is rather a Northern than a Southern city—and after all, its foreign commerce is inconsiderable. The commerce of New Orleans and Charleston is principally in exports of produce, which, of necessity, must be shipped at the nearest port. Their imports bear no proportion to their exports, although the latter are naturally the basis and measure of the former. But in every instance the Northern cities have a large excess of imports over exports, showing that without the advantages of the South, in this respect, they far excel the Southern cities. In addition to the above tables we give the following.

COMMERCE—JULY 1ST, 1853, TO JUNE 30TH, 1854.

STATES.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
Massachusetts.....	\$ 48,563,788	\$ 21,438,504
South Carolina.....	1,711,385	11,995,016
Maryland.....	6,787,552	11,782,632
Louisiana.....	14,422,154	60,931,852

These figures show the vast commercial superiority of the free States ; but owing to the fact above adverted to, viz : the necessity of exporting heavy produce from the nearest sea-port, the slave States make a much better showing than they are entitled to do, in a commercial point of view. The tonnage will exhibit a more certain indication of commercial investment, and we accordingly present a table from the last Report of the Secretary of the Treasury :

TONNAGE OWNED.

STATES.	TOTAL.
New York.....	1,415,031,31
Virginia	84,840,42
Pennsylvania.....	361,827,57
North Carolina	57,801,09
Ohio.....	80,860,04
Kentucky	20,122,89
Illinois.....	31,041,04
Missouri.....	48,575,51

We now give the statistics of manufactures, from the meagre returns of the Census :

“PRODUCT OF MANUFACTURES, MINING,
AND THE MECHANIC ARTS, 1850.”

STATES.	CAPITAL INVESTED.	HANDS EMPLOY'D	ANNUAL WAGES.	ANNUAL PRODUCT.	PER CT. PROFIT.
	\$		\$	\$	
New York.	99,904,405	199,349	49,131,000	237,597,249	53.86
Virginia ..	18,109,993	29,109	5,413,764	29,705,387	34.17
Penn.....	94,473,810	146,766	37,163,232	155,044,910	32.47
N. Car. ...	7,252,225	12,444	1,796,748	9,111,245	34.60
Ohio.	29,018,538	51,489	13,467,660	62,647,259	49.97
Kentucky .	12,350,734	24,385	4,764,096	24,588,483	61.97
Illinois ...	6,385,387	12,065	3,286,249	17,236,073	78.85
Missouri ..	6,079,695	16,850	3,184,764	23,749,265	89.41

The above table sufficiently demonstrates the great superiority of Freedom over Slavery, as regards the mechanic arts and manufacturing. But a fact of still greater importance to freemen, who depend for a subsistence upon the fruits of their labor, is deducible from it, than any which appears on its face, viz: the rate of wages. By dividing the annual wages paid per annum in each State by the number of "hands employed," we arrive at the following results:

STATES.	WAGES PER ANNUM
New York	\$246.00
Virginia	186.00
Ohio.....	261.00
Kentucky	195.00
Pennsylvania.....	253.00
North Carolina.....	144.00
Illinois	272.00
Missouri.....	189.00

These striking evidences of the depressing influences of slavery upon the wages of freemen in the slave States, need no comment. The mechanic or laboring man, who, in the face of such facts, will vote for the introduction of slavery into Kansas, must be as destitute of understanding, as of the true spirit of a man. Mr. Stringfellow will in vain attempt to parry the force of such facts as these, if he shall condescend to reason at all, with working-men.

AGRICULTURE.

The Agricultural productions of the country being stated in detail in the Census, it would be deemed a bore to go through with them. I therefore present the

subject from a few salient points, which will be amply sufficient to show the superiority of free labor in this department of industry. This might be readily inferred from the statements already given of the value of land:

States.	Cash Value of Farms.	Value of Agricultural Imple-ments.	Value of Live Stock.
New York....	\$ 554,546,642	\$ 22,084,926	73,570,499
Virginia	216,401,543	7,021,772	33,656,659
Pennsylvania..	407,876,099	14,722,541	41,500,053
N. Carolina....	67,891,766	3,931,532	17,717,647
Ohio.....	358,758,603	12,750,585	44,121,744
Kentucky	155,021,262	5,169,037	29,661,436
Illinois	96,133,290	6,405,564	24,209,258
Missouri	63,225,543	3,981,525	19,887,580

I have kept up the comparison between the same States, because it will be remembered, they commenced their career together, with preponderating advantages of population, territorial extent, and other circumstances on the side of the slave States. The only exception to this remark, is in the case of North Carolina and Pennsylvania. The latter, in 1790, contained a few thousands more inhabitants than the former, but the difference was inconsiderable. On the other hand, North Carolina is on the sea-shore, and has at least, two good harbors, with numerous navigable rivers and bays; while Pennsylvania is an interior State, without a navigable water between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The Delaware and the Ohio touch her frontiers at the extreme eastern and western borders of the State, and her enterprising free people have made the most of

them. But she has no such natural facilities of internal or external commerce as North Carolina possesses; yet, behold the results!

The following table shows the amount of grain of all kinds produced in the States compared; together with such other articles as are deemed the great staples of the respective States:

States.	Grain of all kinds—Bus.	Tobacco, lbs.	Hay—Tons	Hemp—Tons
New York.....	68,449,908	83,189	3,728,797	4
Virginia.....	57,345,344	56,803,227	369,098	139
Pennsylvania...	63,905,497	912,651	1,842,970	44
North Carolina..	34,372,233	11,984,786	145,653	39
Ohio.....	88,457,124	10,454,449	1,443,142	150
Kentucky.....	69,543,237	55,501,196	113,747	17,787
Illinois.....	77,527,463	841,394	601,952
Missouri.....	44,651,808	17,113,784	116,925	16,028

The figures show for themselves, in the column of grains, and the value need not be computed. But it is necessary to estimate the value of the other articles, in order to arrive at any just notion of the relative productive wealth of the States. We will take the tobacco crop of Virginia, and the hay crop of New York. Tobacco, at present prices, will average about seven cents per pound; and at this rate, the 56,803,227 lbs. produced in Virginia will be worth \$3,976,225.89 cents, all told. This is her great staple—at least, it is so esteemed by the friends of slavery, though it is less valuable than her own small hay crop, and only about a fifteenth or twentieth part of the value of her grain crop. But it is nearly all exported—by the Yankees—and therefore, makes a noise in the world.

Hay sells at from eighteen to twenty-two dollars per

ton in New York, but since it is less marketable than tobacco, I will not put it at the selling price in the cities. I rate it at fifteen dollars per ton. At this rate, the hay crop of New York will be worth \$55,931,955. At ten dollars per ton, it will bring \$37,287,970, which is nearly ten times the value of the Virginia tobacco crop. In the same way, it may be shown that the hay crop of Ohio, is worth three or four times the tobacco crop of Kentucky. The butter crop of New York is worth full twice as much as the tobacco crop of Virginia. Thus, the former produced 79,766,694 lbs. of butter; the latter, 56,803,227 lbs. of tobacco.

Mr. Stringfellow in his late letter on the subject of Kansas, estimates hemp at \$130 per ton, for the highest price, and \$80 for the lowest. I will assume, therefore, that it is worth \$100, on an average. At this rate, the crop of Missouri, reported in the census at 16,028 tons, will be worth \$1,602,800. The tobacco crop of the same State, amounting to 17,113,784 lbs., at seven cents per pound, will amount to \$1,197,964.88 cts. The two great staples of Missouri, therefore, all told—every pound sold at New York prices, amount to the insignificant sum of \$2,800,764.88 cts. This is all that the people of Missouri get for wearing the mill-stone of slavery about their necks—and not even this, because it is absurd to pretend that freemen cannot cultivate hemp and tobacco as successfully as slaves. The single article of hay produced in Illinois, at ten dollars per ton, is worth twice as much as the hemp and tobacco crops of Missouri. Thus, 601,952 tons at ten dollars, comes to \$6,019,520. Even at five dollars per ton, it will exceed the value of the Missouri staples. How preposterous the notion, then, that slavery is

essential to the prosperity of Missouri, or that it will be advantageous to Kansas !

MORAL EFFECTS OF SLAVERY.

The foregoing facts and figures will suffice to illustrate the effects of slavery upon the material prosperity of States and people ; and we now turn to its moral influences, as they affect education and the diffusion of knowledge:

EDUCATION.

States.	Annual Expenditure for Education.	No. of Pupils in all Schools and Colleges	Native free Adults unable to read and write	Proportion of illiterate, to Native Free Population.
New York.....	\$2,431,247	727,156	30,670	1 in 79
Virginia.....	703,787	77,764	87,383	10
Pennsylvania.....	2,164,218	440,743	51,283	39
North Carolina.....	386,912	112,430	80,083	7
Ohio.....	1,018,258	502,826	56,958	30
Kentucky.....	695,930	86,014	67,359	11
Illinois.....	403,138	130,411	35,336	20
Missouri.....	383,469	61,592	34,917	14

It will be seen at a glance, that freedom is no match for slavery, in the production of ignoramuses, and I raise no issue on that point. The New England States show still greater superiority over the South, in point of education. Take, for example, Vermont and South Carolina :

States.	Free Population.	Above 20 years, unable to read and write.	Proportion of illiterate.
Vermont.....	280,966	616	1 in 456
South Carolina....	274,813	16,460	16

The ignorance in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio is mainly accounted for by the Southern immigration into those States.

Thus, Ohio contained in 1850, 152,318 natives of the

slave States, and Illinois 146,619, showing that the number of illiterate in the two States is in proportion to the number which the Southern bears to the Northern or native element. But the following table places the proposition beyond controversy :

	Born in slave States.	Unable to read and write	Ratio to the whole American Population.
Indiana.....	176,575	69,445	13
Iowa.....	31,392	7,076	24
Wisconsin	6,298	1,551	127

These figures show that ignorance and slavery are as inseparable as the Siamese Twins. The people of Kansas, in choosing slavery, will therefore, place themselves alongside of Virginia and North Carolina, in point of education.

Next, I propose to call attention to the Public Libraries and Newspapers :

Public College and School Libraries.			Newspapers and Period's.	
	No.	Vols.	No.	Circulation.
New York.....	8,284	1,756,254	428	115,385,473
Virginia.....	30	89,180	87	9,223,068
Pennsylvania.....	80	287,591	310	84,898,672
N. Carolina.....	8	24,247	51	2,020,564
Ohio.....	48	104,634	261	30,473,407
Kentucky.....	27	63,440	62	6,582,838
Illinois	27	19,916	107	5,102,276
Missouri.....	19	37,506	61	6,195,560

Missouri is here ahead in libraries and newspapers; a superiority which she owes to St. Louis. In 1850, St. Louis contained 77,860 inhabitants, while Chicago had only 29,963. But a census of the latter was taken in 1853, and displayed the extraordinary gain of more than thirty thousand inhabitants, in three years. The compendium of the United States census, recently published, states the population of Chicago for that year, at

60,000; but I have elsewhere seen it computed at 70,000, and at the present moment, it is larger than St. Louis was in 1850. The latter city grew astonishingly from 1840 to 1845, when the State census was taken. But from that period, up to 1850, her energies seemed to have flagged.

In connection with this preponderance of the free States in newspapers and libraries, I will merely refer to the following facts, viz: the still greater superiority of freedom over slavery, in fostering literature and science. From the earliest times of our history, the South has not produced a book which will take rank as a standard work, nor given to the world a poet or man of science. The free States, on the other hand, have produced some of the best works of modern literature; and her men of science have, by their attainments and their discoveries, placed their names by the side of the savans of France, and conferred glory and renown upon their country.

The South, before slavery became its creed, produced great statesmen; but the race of her great men is extinct. "Genius sickens, and fancy dies," where the pall of slavery overshadows the land.

CHURCH STATISTICS.

	Value of Church Property.	Number of Churches.	No. of seats in Churches.
New York.....	\$21,219,207	4,169	1,915,179
Virginia.....	2,860,876	2,386	858,086
Pennsylvania.....	11,586,315	3,596	1,576,245
N. Carolina.....	905,753	1,787	574,924
Ohio.....	5,793,099	3,939	1,457,769
Kentucky	2,251,908	1,849	673,528
Illinois	1,482,185	1,223	486,756
Missouri.....	1,587,410	909	264,979

The effect of slavery upon religion, is well illustrated

by the above table. Any one who will take the trouble of adding the figures together, will find that the four free States have expended above forty millions of dollars in building churches; while the four slave States have spent less than five millions!

I next present a table of the principal cities in the eight States which have been under consideration, and their population, at different periods:

		1830.	1840.	1850.
Va. New York	New York City.....	202,589	312,710	515,574
	Brooklyn	15,396	36,233	96,838
	Albany.....	24,238	33,721	50,763
	Rochester	9,469	20,191	36,403
	Buffalo.....	8,663	18,213	42,261
	Richmon d.....	16,060	20,153	27,570
	Petersburgh	8,322	11,136	14,010
	Norfolk.....	9,814	10,920	14,326
	Philadelphia.....	161,410	220,123	408,762
	Pittsburgh.....	12,568	21,115	46,601
Ohio N.C.Pa.	Wilmington.....	3,000	4,744	7,264
	Raleigh		2,244	4,518
	Cincinnati.....	24,831	46,338	115,436
	Cleveland.....		6,071	17,034
	Columbus.....		6,048	17,882
	Louisville.....	41	21,210	43,194
	Lexington		6,097	9,180* (+1852)
	Chicago		4,853	29,963
	Springfield.....			4,533
	Mo. Ill. Ky.	St. Louis.....	5,852	16,469

In 1845, according to the State census of Missouri, the population of St. Louis had risen to 63,491, or almost fourfold in five years; but, in 1850, it seems that the city only contained as above, 77,860, a gain of less than 25 per cent. in five years. This falling off is remarkable.

There is one uniform fact observable in Southern cities, viz: that their progress is invariably attended by the absolute or comparative decline of slavery within their limits:

	Total pop. in 1840.	Slaves in 1840.	Total in 1850.	Slaves in 1850.
Baltimore.....	102,313	3,199	169,054	2,946
St. Louis.....	24,585	2,383	77,680	2,656
Louisville	21,210	3,430	43,194	5,432
New Orleans....	102,193	23,448	116,375	17,011
Charleston....	29,261	14,673	32,133	14,690
Neck....			10,852	4,890

It will be seen that the slave populations of Baltimore and New Orleans, actually declined between the periods 1840 and 1850, while the aggregate number of inhabitants made considerable progress. St. Louis and Charleston exhibit nearly the same result; and in Louisville, we see the total population more than doubled, while the slaves increased in a much smaller ratio. The "Neck" was added to Charleston after the census of 1840 was taken, and I have therefore, separated it from the city, in order to exhibit a fair test of the law of population to which I have adverted. But if, as I apprehend, the "Neck" constitutes St. Philip's parish, it more fully illustrates the principle than the city.

These facts are sufficient to show that cities and slavery are at war with each other, and that they cannot thrive together. If cities advance, slavery must recede; and if slavery advances, cities must disappear.

Cities, doubtless, have their peculiar evils; but these are greatly exaggerated from the fact that they are concentrated on a small area, and are thus exposed to the Argus-eyed scrutiny of the press; while the correspondent evils of the country—its vice and poverty—are so scattered and secluded as to escape publicity. But at any rate, it is universally conceded that cities are necessary to civilization, to progress in enlightenment, and to the prosperity of the country. There could be neither commerce, nor manufactures, nor the mechanic arts; there could be neither newspapers, nor literature, nor knowledge, without cities—and if there are any who are insensible to these considerations, I would say that there would be no market for the products of the soil without cities. Do the people of Kansas desire them? Let them not be deluded by one exceptional case! Let them not say, "St. Louis is a great and

growing city in the midst of slavery !” Before drawing a conclusion against general experience, from that one fact, they should consider that St. Louis has extraordinary natural advantages of position, and that the proportion of slaves is small, compared with the white population. Still, the institution, as I have demonstrated, has greatly retarded the prosperity of the State, thrown it behind Illinois in population, in internal improvements, in the value of lands, in the extent of its cultivation, and in education. The censuses which will be taken the present year in the two States, (mark the prediction,) will throw Missouri still farther behind, in all these particulars, as well as in those in which she now stands ahead of Illinois. I incline to believe that she will lose the honor of having the largest city. It is further to be remarked, that Missouri has but one place deserving the name of town or city, while Illinois has thriving towns springing up in every direction, which are giving life and vigor to society, by furnishing markets—home markets—for the products of the farm, the dairy, and the workshop; and at the same time becoming the seats of learning, and the centres of intelligence.

The people of Kansas must forego all these advantages, if they choose the institution of slavery. They must make up their minds to endure inferiority in all the essential elements of civilization, as I have shown to be the relative condition of Virginia as compared with New York, North Carolina with Pennsylvania, Kentucky with Ohio, and Missouri with Illinois. Some twenty or fifty years hence, should slavery be introduced, Kansas will be subjected to such humiliating contrasts with Nebraska, as I have here instituted between Kentucky and Ohio. And what for? Why curse the virgin soil of Kansas with slavery? Is it not too plain,

that the idea springs from mere passion, or sectional pride and jealousy? And must Kansas in all the elements of prosperity and civilization, be sacrificed to these passions? Will you follow such counsels, or will you consult your own interest, your own welfare, your own aspirations for knowledge and power?

The main argument of Mr. Stringfellow, for introducing slavery into Kansas, is the ridiculous assumption that free labor cannot cultivate a prairie. There is far greater reason for the assumption that slave labor is inadequate to the task. For, apart from the fact that free Illinois, though abounding in prairie in a far greater degree than Missouri, is better cultivated, and to a greater extent, as I have demonstrated from the census, there is this good reason, in the nature of things, for the latter assumption: *The cultivation of land by slave labor requires a five-fold greater outlay of capital, (where land is cheap,) than is necessary with the use of free labor.* The employer of slave labor must not merely have the land, houses, fences, cattle, provisions, etc., which the employing of free labor requires, but in addition he must own a *slave*, worth from eight hundred to a thousand dollars, for every twenty acres of land which he proposes to cultivate. Does not this simple statement of an obvious fact, illustrate the clumsiness and inutility of slavery? Is it not apparent that the capital invested in slavery is unnecessary to production, and therefore unproductive? Slavery is a monopoly of wages—it distributes wealth, as the economist would say; that is, it gives all the profit to the master, and none to the laborer. But it has nothing to do with production. It is a useless investment, so far as society is concerned, however convenient and profitable it may be to the slaveholder—the monopolist. The product is equally great—society is equally enriched, whether the

wages be paid to the laborer, or pocketed by the employer. The capital which takes the form of a gang of slaves, is therefore doing nothing for the increase of wealth, because the slaves, if free, or if as many free-men be substituted for them as laborers, would do the work as well, though they are not capital. Society loses all its accumulated gains, which are invested in slaves. The money had better be thrown away than be thus invested, since the institution serves as a perpetual sponge for the absorption of future gains. Hence it is that the slave States have no capital to invest in commerce and manufactures. They have made an unnecessary investment of two thousand millions in slaves, when slaves are not necessary.

For these reasons, it is clear that a man can cultivate far more land with a given amount of capital, by the employment of free labor, than by the purchase of slaves.

Another argument of Mr. Stringfellow for introducing slavery into Kansas, is the assumption that it will grow and flourish ! The same line of argument would prove the utility of the feudal system, or polygamy, or the plague. The slaveholders may do as well in Kansas as in Missouri—therefore slavery should be extended ! Would not the question be more pertinent, “Will slavery injure Kansas as much as it has injured Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, or North Carolina ?” The admission of slavery into Kansas may serve to keep up the price of slaves in Missouri, in some slight degree, but will not its introduction keep down the price of lands in Kansas ? Will it not prevent the construction of railroads and canals, and retard the growth of towns and cities ! Will it not, in this way, deprive the people of Kansas of home markets for the products of the soil ? Will it not retard population, discourage education, pre-

vent the cultivation of literature and science, and in every way consign the future State of Kansas to an inferior position? These are home questions, which the people of Kansas will consider as of at least equal dignity with the grave and weighty matter of the price of negroes in Missouri.

In corroboration of the views I have given of the condition of Virginia and the South, I here make an extract from a recent speech of Mr. Wise, of that State. The picture he draws, does him credit as a limner, and if he were not a politician—in the field for Governor, I dare say, he might do equal justice to the institution of slavery, which his pencil might shadow forth as the Evil Genius of his country:

The four great cardinal sources of wealth—the four great cardinal productive powers—are agriculture, commerce, manufactures and mining. No State that I know of, upon God's earth, has richer bowels; more bountiful in iron and in gold, in gypsum and in salt. This has made England the most powerful nation on the earth. We have iron and coal for mining, and water-power which would turn the spindles to clothe the world; gold and iron are abundant, with all of which, we stand unrivalled for manufacturing marts, roads, rivers, mouths of rivers, and bays which would float the navies of the world; soil, for agriculture of all kinds, the richest beneath the sun; the dark loam and the yellow clay and limestone rock, embracing degree after degree of latitude; running through the middle territory of this continent—we have this, all this, of power and virtue, not surpassed by any other State. *But in all the four cardinal resources, wonderful to tell, disagreeable to tell, shameful to announce—but one source of all four, in time past, have been employed to produce wealth. We have had no work in manufacturing, and commerce has spread its wings and flown from us, and agriculture has only skimmed the surface of mother earth. Three out of the four cardinal virtues have been idle; our young men, over their cigars and toddy, have been talking politics, and the negroes have been left to themselves, until we have all grown poor together. Notwithstanding all this, here we are. Thank God, for the mines of wealth, though they have not been employed. There is still the iron, there is still the coal, there are still the bays and rivers; and though we have driven people enough away from our borders to people other States now more populous than ourselves, State upon State of which, we are called the mother, Old Virginia still stands on her territory, 64,000 square miles, rich still in all those elements which administer to wealth—rich, very rich, in intelligence, in honor, integrity, and bone and sinew.*